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JOHN ALLAN AND THE REVOLUTION IN EASTERN MAINE

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Margaret Mary Brown

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JOHN ALLAN AND THE REVOLUTION IN EASTERN MAINE

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Chapter I

EARLY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY IN EASTERN MAINE

The Revolution in Massachusetts is considered by many people to have taken place only within the boundaries of the state which we now know by that name. The knowledge of the participation of what is now the state of Maine in that struggle has been for the most part limited to what is known to history as the Penobscot expedition. A great deal of activity took place in the vicinity of the present boundary between Maine and Nova Scotia. There was not, it is true, much in the way of actual fighting but there was continual reconnoitering in the enemy country and negotiations with Indian tribes of the border, chiefly by Colonel John Allan or under his direction. This work was of the most profound importance to the life of the new country and to the position of its boundaries during and after the war. Machias even from the earliest outbreak of hostilities was the center of concerted action directed against Nova Scotia in behalf of the revolting colonies.

The town situated about ten leagues from the boundary of Nova Scotia was settled in 1763 by a group from Scarboro, Maine, in order to convert the forests into lumber. The territory was debatable ground for both Nova Scotia and Massachusetts governments laid claim to it. In fact, the settlers in endeavoring to secure a grant for a township so that they might possess a title

to their lands twice applied to the Nova Scotia government for such a grant. Their request met with no success so they turned to Massachusetts and received a township grant from Governor Hutchinson in 1770.[1]

This was the town that served as a point for the diffusion of sympathy and activity in behalf of the revolting colonies. Machias was very strategically located for this purpose. It was within striking distance of Nova Scotia, located on a river navigable for ships smaller than the usual British man-of-war. Proximity to Nova Scotia was also a danger, but this would not have been a serious threat if adequate forces and supplies had been sent, for the people of Machias knew the territory and the navigation of the many harbors and waterways among the numerous islands off shore. From Cumberland to

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1. An extract from the Journal of the General Court of Massachusetts.

"A petition of the inhabitants of a place called Machias, showing that when they made their settlement they apprehended it to be Crown lands and settled upon the encouragement of the King's proclamation, but have since found that it falls within the bounds of this Province and as they have been at great pains and cost in making improvements, they pray that they may be incorporated." F. W. Kidder: Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia, p. 303.

Onslow and from Falmouth to Yarmouth the people were stirred up and led by Machias. It was at Machias itself that there was the earliest actual activity, for the seven or eight hundred inhabitants obtained authority in 1775 from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to adopt any warlike measures they thought desireable against the King's troops and government.

They would not purchase goods from any one inimical to the American cause, so zealous were they in behalf of the revolting colonies. This placed them in a rather precarious situation as they were cut off from the source of supplies at a time when they had not been able to lay in any the previous year because of the drought. There was no country into which they could retreat, nor any means of flight by sea, while there was the constant threat of the King's well equipped forces, which were within easy attacking distance.

The people of Machias had gathered to discuss the news of Lexington and Concord, when Benjamin Foster proposed they erect a Liberty Pole, which was immediately agreed upon. A Committee of Safety was appointed to carry out all the measures in the Proclamation of the Provincial Congress. At a meeting of the town the next day, it was unanimously voted to plant a Liberty Tree in front of the town house. Before sunset of the same day it was in place and the people gathered round it, pledged property, honor and life if need be in defence of colonial rights and independence. It was just after

this incident that Captain Ichabod Jones set sail for Boston in command of the sloop Unity, accompanied by the Polly under Captain Horton. Jones was desirous of removing all his effects from Boston, as well as to bring supplies to the people of Machias. His family was at Machias visiting relatives and could not return to Boston, their home, because of the restrictions of the Boston Port Bill. Even to remove his interests needed the official consent of Admiral Graves, the British officer in command of Boston Harbor, who granted it on the condition that Captain Jones would bring back to Boston his vessels loaded with lumber.

He set sail for Machias accompanied by the schooner Margaretta commanded by Captain Moore of the British Navy who was to see to it, that Captain Jones returned and to protect him from any violence on the part of the citizens at Machias. The ships arrived in Machias River June 2, 1775. Almost immediately a paper was circulated which the inhabitants had to sign before they could secure provisions. This aroused their suspicions as to the Loyalist sentiment of Captain Jones. To sign meant they had agreed to the shipment of lumber and were ready to protect Jones' property in case of trouble. The resolution to resist the fulfillment of Jones' agreement with Graves was truly brave and shows the attachment these people had to those principles for which their fellow colonists were fighting. Considering their paucity of numbers and lack of fortification in case of attack by

the British fleet, as well as their dependence on Massachusetts for nearly everything, their action seems to have been almost foolhardy. They were aware of what it might cost them but they persevered in their plans.

Captain Moore was to be taken prisoner while he attended church on Sunday morning. In church his suspicions were aroused when he saw armed men crossing the river. He made his escape to his ship, by the same window through which he had seen the gathering of the forces. After a few ineffective shots he dropped down the river having promised to come back and burn the town, if the loading of the Polly and the Unity was interfered with. Immediately one party began to strip the sloop at the wharf while another group went to bring the other vessel upstream. The Margaretta came up within musket shot of the second, so that the rebels had to run her aground in order to escape. People along shore urged the battle on while they demanded that Captain Moore surrender to the Americans. After a sharp engagement the Margaretta dropped down stream and was lashed to a small sloop which lay there at anchor.

The citizens of Machias formulated their plans. Jeremiah O'Brien with forty men on the Unity was to be joined at the Rim by the Falmouth Packet in command of Benjamin Foster with twenty men. Together they were to capture the Margaretta. All day long men came in from neighboring districts armed with guns, pitchforks and axes. While they laid plans, the women melted lead, pew-

ter and even silver for bullets and prepared powder and shot.[1]

Early in the morning of June 12, the Unity had to go on alone when the Falmouth Packet grounded. The Margaretta was a cutter mounting four four-pounders and sixteen swivels with a trained crew. The Unity, on the other hand, carried no guns and was manned by a crew of farmers, lumbermen and shopkeepers under the command of an untrained civilian. Captain Moore tried to outsail his pursuers, but failing in this he demanded that the Unity not come too close or he would fire. O'Brien's only answer was a request that Moore surrender. There was a musketry engagement at close quarters which culminated in the rebels boarding the ship. It was a short, decisive encounter lasting about an hour during which Captain Moore was fatally wounded, whereupon the second in command lost his head and fled. The ship was the rebels'. The victory was O'Brien's and the first naval battle of the Revolution was successfully won by the Americans, a year before the Declaration of Independence and several days before the

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1. Hannah and Rebecca Weston carried nearly forty pounds of lead from Chandler's River to Machias, a distance of about twenty miles through trackless forest, so that the Machias people might have sufficient lead. An instance of the loyalty and patriotism of the women of the district.

Battle of Bunker Hill.[1]

The inhabitants were in dire straits after this engagement, being without provisions or any means of getting them. They petitioned for aid in the way of supplies and ammunitions as well as for permission to raise a company of militia to be maintained at provincial expense. They saw this as an absolute necessity if they were to maintain their stand for the colonies, in the face of probable invasion by superior forces.

News of the capture of the Margaretta reached Halifax. Almost immediately two schooners were fitted out in preparation to retake her. The Tapnaquish and the Diligence, which came into the bay of Machias within a month after the battle. Met by the Liberty, both the English sloops surrendered. Three weeks later a frigate and several schooners with about one thousand men came into the bay to take vengeance on the town. But one hundred and fifty men behind hastily erected breastworks held them off and the expedition returned to Halifax.[2]

Nothing daunted, even though the odds were against them, a band of men from Machias under Stephen Smith brought

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1. Account of the battle in a letter of June 14, 1775, to Congress of Mass. Bay from James Lyon, Chairman of the Machias Committee of Safety. Mass. Arch. CXCIII, pp. 360-362.

2. G. W. Drisko. Narrative of the Town of Machias.

the war right into the enemy camp in August of the same year. They entered the River St. John in a small sloop, burned Fort Frederick and its barracks, took four prisoners, as well as capturing a brig of provisions intended for the British Army at Boston.

A third expedition was planned in vengeance for the humiliating defeats the British forces had suffered at the hands of the rebels. This attack was abandoned because the obstacles in the way of its success appeared too great. The whole project of annihilating Machias was then given up for some time.[1]

To recompense the people of Machias for their valiant action in behalf of the colonies a company of men was to be stationed there with proper provisions and munitions supplied by the province by order of the General Court late in 1775. This hotbed of revolutionary fervor was the destination of the flight of John Allan whose activities were to be the deciding factor in securing Eastern Maine to the United States.

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1. G. W. Drisko, opus citus.

Chapter II

JOHN ALLAN IN CUMBERLAND COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

John Allan, the eldest son of William Allan, one of the earliest settlers in Nova Scotia, was born in Ould Reekie, Edinburgh Castle, January 14, 1747. This historic spot was his birthplace because his father, a Scottish gentleman of means and a British army officer, with his wife Isabella Maxwell, the daughter of Sir Eustace Maxwell, had sought refuge there from the rebellion then in progress in Scotland. William Allan brought his family to Nova Scotia in 1749 when the English government tried to carry out the project of making Nova Scotia more completely English in allegiance by settling demobilized soldiers and sailors there, after peace with France in 1748. Besides, the loss of Louisburg in this peace meant that the position of the governor at Annapolis was not so secure as it had been when communication with New England suffered no threat from the French, so that now a garrison was deemed necessary. The Allan family first settled in Halifax, but three years later, the father was in what was probably a subordinate position, at Fort Lawrence, in Cumberland County, which is that narrow neck of land that connects Nova Scotia to what is now knownn as New Brunswick. On the complete expulsion of the French in 1763, William Allan received a large grant of land in this fertile country and became quite prosperous. At this time, too, he held various positions of honor and was a

member of the colonial legislature.[1]

With this background it is perhaps a little difficult to discover where his son John acquired the radical tendencies which led him to take a determined stand contrary to all family traditions as he did in the American Revolution. There were several influencing factors, however, which probably combined to bring about that result: First of all it is necessary to consider the people who were his neighbors and with whom he made contacts in his early youth. Migration from the older colonies for settlement in Nova Scotia began definitely in 1710 with the capture of Annapolis Royal. The same year that John Allan's family came to Halifax, a large group which was almost wholly Bostonian settled there, really founding the town. The census of 1752 showed that many of the settlers were former New Englanders, in fact, before 1759, one hundred and seven men from Massachusetts alone had received grants in Annapolis, many of whom had been soldiers in the service there. The proclamation of 1758 urging British settlers to take up land vacated by the French brought also many from the other British colonies on the continent.

> "People from New England were especially eager to settle. Old soldiers and Cape Cod fishermen knew the opportunities and advantages of the district. A second proclamation of January, 1759, contained very liberal terms. April found

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 5-6.

> agents for people in Connecticut and Rhode Island inquiring about conditions and securing aid for the poorer families. Four men from Connecticut represented three hundred and thirty people who agreed to set up a town. One hundred families from Rhode Island were to settle at Pizaquid. There is an estimate that would fix the number who came from New England in the years 1759 to 1761 as somewhere between seven and ten thousand souls."[1]

There were families of the best stock in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island among these emigrants. The first Representative Assembly of Nova Scotia contained five esquires,[2] and six gentlemen[3] who came from New England.

Such settlers were naturally as energetic, self-reliant and jealous of their liberty as were their compatriots whom they had left behind and with them there was a strong bond of blood and sympathy. Many emigrants from more distant colonies took up residence in this province under the liberal terms provided the colonists. They, too, had such ties which bound them to the colonies they had left.

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1. A. W. H. Eaton, Chapters in the History of Nova Scotia XIII No. 6, p. 176.

2. Joseph Gerrish, Robert Sandisson, Henry Newton, William Foye and James Rundell.

3. Jonathan Binny, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, Joseph Fairbanks, Phillip Hammond and John Fellis. A. W. H. Eaton, opus citus, p. 152.

Geographically Nova Scotia was in close relationship to the revolting colonies and particularly to New England, the hotbed of rebellion. Nova Scotia, which then included what is now known as New Brunswick, was reckoned as part of New England in commissions to royal governors. There were also political, social and economic ties which united the two districts. Massachusetts had employed her forces against the French, with her own security in view. The province was almost wholly dependent on New England for fresh provisions and food-stuffs which meant constant communication with the chief seaports entailing interchange of ideas and opinions as well as providing a channel for propaganda. For two-thirds of a century prior to the Revolution this constant intimate relationship existed.

Political sympathies are usually largely determined by racial connections and commercial interests. It is not surprising then that Nova Scotia should not promise a high degree of loyalty in the struggle of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when a large portion of her inhabitants were linked by ties of kinship and necessities of trade to those of New England. Nor is it astounding that such sympathy should express itself in determined activity for the colonies against the Crown. It is surprising that not more who had the same background as John Allan were not imbued with the spirit so rampant in Cumberland County as young Allan was.

John Allan received the best education possible in that locality. He had learned French as a child and

possessed some knowledge of Indian dialects, as well as the usual rudimentary knowledge. Friendships and business acquaintances with men from Massachusetts had been made during the wars which led to the French expulsion. Through such a friendship it seems quite likely that John Allan was sent to receive part of his education in Massachusetts.[1] George H. Allan in his article in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register states definitely that his illustrious but almost unknown ancestor went there in 1762 to be educated. If such was the case he mingled freely with the peoile there, felt the grievances under which they labored, and warmly sympathized with them. On his return to his home he did not hesitate to advocate their cause which brought him into some difficulty with his father as the letter previously mentioned shows.

On October 10, 1767, he married Mary Patton. It

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1. A letter from Cumberland of September 21, 1767, speaks as if he had returned there after a prolonged absence, from the way in which he refers to his mother's death. And even at this early date there was evidently political estrangement with his father, for he says in part, "He is at present indulgent, but we have never spoken upon any of our late proceedings.*****My intention of what we have spoken so often is still the same, but I am prevented of proceeding in it till things are more settled." F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 10. And besides this, a letter from I. Winslow,

is assumed that his father presented him with land on the road to Bay Verte about seven miles from Fort Cumberland, where he engaged in mercantile and agricultural pursuits for several years. During these same years he rose in the public service to positions of honor, Among the many offices which he held were those of justice of the peace, clerk of the supreme court, and clerk of the sessions. He held a seat in the provincial assembly from the spring of 1770 to June 28, 1776, when it was declared vacant due to non-attendance.

News of the Battle of Lexington and Concord was not long in reaching Nova Scotia, and it was in the ensuing summer that John Allan came to his decision to join the western colonies in their try for liberty against Great Britain. His vigor, self-reliance and nobility of

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probably the Loyalist Dr. Isaac Winslow from Marshfield, Massachusetts, April 5, 1775, evidences the fact that he had visited the Allans and that John had been for a time resident in Massachusetts for he wrote: "Yet you enjoy many satisfactions, which I do assure you are far from general in this country which now are totally reverse from that pleasant and happy part of the World which you once knew it, in the days of your youth!" New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXX, p. 355.

character led him to express his opinions freely without regard to the consequences. Such procedure soon attracted the attention of the governmental authorities who advised him to desist. When he refused to, proceedings were instituted to have him charged with and apprehended for treason. Capture meant death, so that the only alternative offered was flight across the border to Machias, a town properly disposed to receive him, and one which would serve as a base for any revolutionary operations against Nova Scotia.

Before he left his wife and five children at Invermary, his well stocked farm of three hundred and forty-eight acres of the most fertile land in the country, he went on a mission in September of 1776 to the Indians of the vicinity in order to secure their aid for the continental colonies.

The previous June some of the Indian chiefs of the Micmacs had come to him, their friend from early boyhood, to find out what they should do, as Colonel Gorham the English commander had sent for them. Allan advised them to go to him and find out his intentions. The Indians informed Allan on their return that they had been offered all sorts of presents, but that the only suggestion made was that if they would not join the British, they at least would not take up arms against them. Through all this consultation they expressed great reverence for General Washington and the American cause, but were determined to take no action until they understood the reason of the quarrel be-

tween Old England and New England.[1] He explained the causes of the dispute as clearly as possible. His work was doubtless instrumental in the accomplishment of a treaty between Massachusetts and the St. John and Micmac tribes. The treaty, one of friendship and alliance for offense and defense, was ratified by the Massachusetts Council, August 29, 1776.

Despite this or even because of it, John Allan felt the necessity of going among the Indians, renewing their interest and zeal for the cause of America and uniting them even more closely to it. He had learned as a member of the Provincial Assembly of the English intention of enlisting the Indians to act with them in harassing the eastern settlements of Massachusetts. He determined to forestall them. He was known to the Indians as their life long friend which was a point in his favor. He sent couriers to the villages of the St. Johns and Micmacs calling their deputies to a conference.

A large body assembled at Chediac, September 19. Here Allan once more explained the causes of the trouble between Great Britain and America, during which he was listened to with gravity and attention. After consultation among themselves, a chief of the Miramichee, acting as their spokesman, expressed their sympathy for the Americans, but would only promise that, as they could not aid, they

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 169-170. Allan's Report on the Indians.

would not molest or injure either side. This in spite of the treaty of the previous summer, which they stated they could not adhere to as they held it had been entered into without their consent. John Allan impressed on them that he came in no official capacity, but only as one of themselves. He obtained from them the admission that they felt the colonists to be justified in their actions but the fear of Great Britain's power deterred them from joining the Americans. They displayed their wily diplomacy which he encountered all through his dealings with them, for in this instance they refused to commit themselves until there was a sufficient force in the district to protect them from attack.

John Allan was convinced that the Indians were dangerous neighbors in this undecided state of mind. He knew them, too, to be especially susceptible to the English largess which would mean catastrophe for the colonists of the eastern settlements if they succumbed to these British inducements. Even with the obstacle of British gold confronting him, Allan advised the Massachusetts Council to try to win them definitely to the American cause. He felt if they could be won over their aid would be of great value. He was sure it could be done if a person were employed as a superintendent to stay among them constantly and keep them acquainted with developments of the struggle. The man for this position must possess fortitude and perseverance, be acquainted with their dispositions, put up with their foibles, and be prepared to

use proper arguments to them, always giving them good example. Then he could do anything with them and even win them to any program he might propose.

This service of conferring with the Indians was performed at a great risk, but it was invaluable. John Allan returned home September 25, 1776, to learn that Colonel Gorham and a party of soldiers had gone to arrest him. He was obliged to leave the province, which he did August 3, setting out with a few companions in an open boat for Passamaquoddy by way of the Bay of Fundy, where they arrived nine days later. From there they went on to Machias Bay where they arrived August 11.

Here he met Colonel Jonathan Eddy[1] on board a schooner with a crew of twenty-eight setting out to try to take Fort Cumberland near Allan's home. Allan with his usual keen judgment realized the futility of attempting such an undertaking with so small a force. Eddy could not

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1. Colonel Jonathan Eddy was born in Norton, Massachusetts, in 1726. In 1755 he served as an officer in Nova Scotia. All during the Revolution he was active in the eastern settlements. It is interesting to note that frequently in subsequent situations he and Allan disagreed either as to policy or action.

see the rashness of the project, nor admit of the probability of failure. Even if by some quip of fate they should take the fort, Allan knew they were too few in numbers to hold it. But Eddy could not be dissuaded from his scheme.

The month of October John Allan spent in Machias and Gouldsboro ascertaining the general trend of sentiment. Then early in November he proceeded to Boston to endeavor to secure aid for the Indians with scarcely any practical results. He determined to leave no possibility untried and set out to seek help from the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

Chapter III

THE EDDY EXPEDITION, NOVEMBER, 1776

In the meantime Jonathan Eddy had proceeded with the carrying out of the intentions from which Allan had tried to deter him at Machias. He was completely convinced that some action needed to be taken with regard to Nova Scotia. The people were particularly disaffected toward the British government in Cumberland County as most of them were from New England and the north of Ireland. The government had passed severe acts in restraint of American principles from which there was no redress as the Assembly was completely loyal to the King, the American sympathizers having been unseated. The people of Cumberland turned their minds to finding ways to join with the continentals. Depending on this sentiment but aware that the British were repairing the old fortifications with the intention of subduing the province, Eddy persevered in his project. He relized that unless there was activity by the rebelling colonies in this fourteenth province, it would be lost to the American cause. The people were in dire want; those that could had left even though it meant confiscation of their estates, and more would leave if they had possessed the means.[1] Nova Scotia was too valuable to be lost without a struggle, especially when Eddy was convinced it could be

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1. See Appendix.

linked to the continental colonies if only six hundred men armed and with munitions were supplied to destroy the fort at Cumberland. Aid was refused him by the Continental Congress, but undismayed he drew up his scheme to be undertaken under the authority of Massachusetts. All he could obtain was the consent of the Council, without commission, supplies or men. He undertook the expedition under the authority of the Committee of Safety for the County of Cumberland.

From Boston he went to Machias where he was met by Colonel Shaw and joined by Captain West and twenty men. A few more were added at Passamaquoddy and then the whole group went to the River St. John proceeding up the river about sixty miles. The inhabitants were generally well disposed, supplying a captain, twenty-five men and sixteen Indians. This party reached Shepody in Cumberland County by whaleboat on November 7th. They captured Captain Walker and thirteen men stationed there by Colonel Gorham, commander of the British forces in the district. They went through the woods for twelve miles to Sackville during which time they encountered some uneasiness among the people, who were alarmed at the smallness of Eddy's invading force, but he reassured them confidently expecting reinforcements under Colonel Shaw. A portion of his force was dispatched to Westcook to be joined later by others, take a sloop loaded with provisions for the garrison. They accomplished their object, being assisted

on board by the crew of the vessel they conquered. They made off with the boat to Fort Lawrence where they deposited some of the supplies. All but a few, who stayed to guard the sloop and prisoners, returned to the main body on the Cumberland side of the river. The force totaling about one hundred and eighty camped about a mile from the Fort. There was an active force of about eighty men, for many had to be sent about among the people as protection and to serve as outposts.

Eddy's demand that Gorham surrender in order to avoid bloodshed was countered by the demand of that officer that he disarm. A surprise attack on the Fort the night of November 12, 1776, accomplished nothing. For several days they kept up a futile attack, but when aid came to the beseiged garrison late in November, the scattered forces under Eddy had to retreat to the falls in the St. John River, where they felt they could make a stand. The King's forces were too strong for them, however, so they had to make their way through the wilderness to Sunbury.[1] The victorious soldiers made great devastation burning everything in their way, and taking prisoners. Allan's property was destroyed while his wife and children fled to the woods to escape the wrath of the soldiers. Later Mrs. Allan was

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1. Petition of Cumberland and Sunbury Counties to Mass. Council, Dec. 17, 1776; Eddy letter to Mass. Council Jan. 5, 1777, and memorial and petition of John Allan to Council of Mass. Feb. 19, 1777. Mass. Arch. CXLIV, pp. 164-168, CLXXXI, pp. 380-381.

taken from her father's house to prison in Halifax where every effort was made to learn from her the whereabouts of her husband. The only information she would offer was that "he had escaped to a free country." She was in prison for about eight months, and was subjected to every indignity, for Allan was blamed for being responsible for the invasion.

The whole province was in great need of aid due to the repulsion of the forces under Eddy. The people of the county had either to be butchered by the invaders for resisting or incur the antagonism of the government if they did not. It was now necessary to obtain troops, provisions and munitions for, with this defeat of the rebels, immediate aid was needed that the inhabitants might be protected from any drastic action from Halifax. It was also essential to keep the British force from advancing into the eastern settlements through the defenseless frontier.

The officials at Halifax took immediate steps to apprehend the leaders of the attack. A reward of two hundred pounds was offered for the arrest of Eddy, one hundred pounds for William Howe and Samuel Rogers; while the same amount was offered for the apprehension of John Allan who was said to have been deeply involved in stirring up the rebellion. The whole county had not been unanimously in favor of the American cause, and some who had been of that mind saw the necessity of mending their ways in order to live. Colonel Gorham being acquainted with this situation accordingly proclaimed pardon for all who would surrender

with the exception of Eddy, Allan and a few others. Despite this opportunity of remaining in their homes, many refused and fled across the border. Murdoch says the majority of them did, settling in what later became known as Eddington.

Chapter IV

JOHN ALLAN IN BALTIMORE AND BOSTON

While Eddy had been advancing against Fort Cumberland, John Allan had left Boston for Philadelphia traveling on horseback. He went through Hartford to Fishkill where he crossed the Hudson in order to avoid New York City which was in the possession of the British. He met General Gates who took him to General Washington's headquarters.

It seems quite probable that they had some conversation on conditions in the frontier settlements of eastern Maine though there is no tangible evidence in regard to it. It is rather difficult otherwise to explain Washington's knowledge of conditions there and his personal interest concerning what went on there. The question of proposed expeditions into Nova Scotia were referred to him. He, early in the conflict, advised against an expedition because of the number of British forces there and the limited number that the colonists could spare to send against them.

After a difficult trip from Philadelphia he reached Baltimore where he was received by the Continental Congress January 4, 1777. To them he told the state of affairs among the Indians, and the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and Eastern Maine.

The Continental authorities were in favor of an attempt to annex Nova Scotia, but the plans and ex-

pense were to be borne by Massachusetts, as the Continental Congress felt this would insure greater success. This plan was communicated to the Massachusetts Council by John Hancock, the President of the Continental body, after it had been resolved:

> "That the council of the state of Massachusetts bay be desired to attend to the situation of the enemy in the province of Nova Scotia, and if they are of the opinion that an advantageous attack in the course of the winter or early spring may be made on Fort Cumberland and the said province whereby the enemy's dock-yard and other works with such stores as cannot be speedily removed can be destroyed, they are hereby impowered to conduct the same in behalf of these United States, to raise, subsist and pay a body of men not exceeding three thousand and such officers as they shall appoint for carrying on the said expedition and for the purpose to provide suitable magazines of military and other stores and convey them to the Eastern parts of the said State as they shall think best, and they are desired to conduct this affair in the most secret manner that the nature of such an enterprise will admit, and to apply to Congress for a sum of money sufficient to accomplish the design which they may form relative thereto."1

Partly to accomplish this object the Continental Congress resolved that:

> "An agent be appointed for transacting business between the United States and the several Indian nations and tribes in Nova Scotia, and the country to the northward and eastward thereof and that Tuesday be assigned for electing one."2

On Tuesday, January 14, 1777, agreeably to the orders of the day Congress elected John Allan agent

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1 and 2. Journals of Continental Congress, January 8, 1777.

for the Indian tribes in Nova Scotia and to the north and east.

Samuel Adams, Oliver Wolcott and Matthew Thornton were appointed to prepare instructions for the agent. A few days later they brought in their report in which he was informed of his appointment and given his instructions.

"To John Allan.

"Sir: Having been informed of your knowledge of and acquaintance with the tribes of Indians, inhabitants of St. John's and Nova Scotia, and, confiding in your zealous attachment to the interest of the United States, this Congress have made choice of you to be their agent, empowering you in their behalf, to treat with those Indians and as far as you shall be able to engage their friendship and prevent their taking a part on the side of Great Britain.

"You will explain to them as clearly as their understanding of the nature and principles of civil government will admit of it, the grounds of the disputes between Great Britain and America, the pains we have taken to settle those disputes on the rules of equity and the necessity we were finally driven to, in defence of our liberty and lives. Thus, by convincing them of the justice of our cause you may attach them to our interests and lay a solid foundation for lasting peace and friendship with us.

"You will also inform them of the union that subsists among the people of these States, the strength derived therefrom, to each of them that viewing us in this light they may see their own safety depending upon their disposition and behavior toward us.

"You are to cultivate trade with them by which means, many great benefits which have heretofore from thence accrued to the subjects of Great Britain will be gained by the people of these states.

"And you are, in a particular manner instructed to use your utmost diligence and influence to promote an intercourse and correspondence between these tribes and the Indians living in and about Canada, by the effecting of

which, the most useful and necessary intelligence may be frequently obtained and you are to give the earliest notice to Congress, and to General Washington and the commanding officers at Ticonderoga of such intelligence as you may secure.

"You will as often as you shall be required exhibit to Congress a fair account of the expenditures of such monies as you may be entrusted with, for the purpose of your agency, together with a general statement of affairs within your department that Congress may avail themselves of it for the public good."

It was further resolved:

"That the sum of nine hundred dollars be annually allowed and paid to John Allan, Esquire during his continuance as agent of this Congress, to the Indians of the St. John's and Nova Scotia."1

One thousand dollars was to be immediately advanced him, to carry on the affairs of the agency.

He left Baltimore in the middle of January for Boston which he reached on February 3. Boston was his headquarters for nearly three months while he impressed on the Council of the state the advisability of protecting the outposts of Maine, their eastern frontier, urging that supplies be sent to the Indians, and that an armed force be sent to secure the western part of Nova Scotia to the colonies. This last was the aim of all his efforts.

The value of the land alone was worth any expense entailed in subjecting it. James Lyon of the Machias Committee of Safety had written the council to make every effort to annex Nova Scotia. He said he had lived in all

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1. Journals of Continental Congress, January 5, 1777.

the states but Rhode Island and Connecticut and he could say that the lands in the eastern part of the country were equal to any. The climate was healthy, rich fisheries were near at hand, the settlements were of great promise he felt, and surely it would repay any expenditures involved in subduing it. He thought a small force could accomplish the desired object. Furthermore, it was of the utmost consequence to the continued existence of Machias that Nova Scotia be one of the united colonies. The sentiment there he considered generally friendly to the American cause; he even went so far as to say that nine-tenths of the people would join in furthering any plan for accomplishing annexation that the colonies would advance.[1]

The assembly of Sunbury County in Nova Scotia in May of the previous year had petitioned to be considered part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They felt the British Parliament was not justified in making laws binding the colonies in all cases as that might be the means of undermining liberty and property. The colonies were right in resisting, they themselves were ready to share their lives and fortunes in the struggle. They resolved to bear their share of the expenses and likewise of the outcome regardless of what that might be. To the resolve embodying these resolutions, one hundred twenty-five men affixed their names, only twelve or thirteen would not sign, nine of

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1. Massachusetts Archives. CXCV pp. 219-222.

whom lived at the mouth of the river, which bound them more closely to the British interests.[1] The people of Cumberland were of much the same mind as those of Sunbury County. Their action was hampered by their long distance from aid in case it was needed as seemed very likely if they began actively to join the colonists. The officials had secured the passage of acts which provided for a regiment to be raised by ballot and supported by a general levy. This was virtually a declaration of war against the colonists. The people of Cumberland County petitioned for the suspension of these acts, for the dissolution of the Assembly and the calling of a new one. Their object was defeated. They continued to protest until it seemed probable that troops would be sent among them, which caused them to desist until sufficient aid could be sent them, when they could act openly.

Such a complexion of sentiment was more than half the issue. In Cumberland none of the people, and in Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry only five had taken the oath of allegiance required by the British government, even though the penalty was loss of representation in the Provincial Assembly. For refusal to comply with the oath the Attorney General was ordered "to prosecute them in the

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 62-66. Resolve of the People of Sunbury and Cumberland Counties, Nova Scotia.

same manner as popish recusants."[1] The people of Moose Island and vicinity, then considered a part of Nova Scotia, applied in November, 1775, to the Congress to be admitted into the association of North America for the promotion of their rights. The majority of the heads of the families at Maugerville on the St. John River appointed a committee in May, 1776 to seek the help and protection of the Massachusetts General Court under whose government they wished to be.

It was learned from reliable sources that the address to His Majesty from the people of Nova Scotia asserting their loyalty to the Crown, had not been representative of the true opinion of the province. The message had been engineered by a small group in the absence of the majority of the members of the Assembly. When the latter took their seats they declared themselves to be friends of the Continental cause and refused to be under the provincial government, for which stand they were unseated. Governor Legge wrote in one of his many letters to the Earl of Dartmouth on the situation:

> "Our inhabitants of Passamaquoddy and St. John's River are wholly from New England, as are the greater part of the inhabitants of Annapolis River, and those of the townships of Cornwallis, Horton, Falmouth, and Newport, some of which are not forty miles from this town (Halifax), that by reason of their connection with the people of New England little

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1. Haliburton, An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, p. 257.

> dependence can be placed on the militia there, to make any resistance against them (the people of Machias); that many in this town are disaffected ***** that should such an attempt be made, I dread the consequences. To convince your lordship how alarming our situation is, it was no sooner known that a quantity of hay was purchased for the horses in Boston, than a stack of eight or ten tons, which happened to be in an open field, were maliciously set on fire and destroyed."[1]

Many prominent people had appealed to Congress to wrest Nova Scotia from the Crown. From the very first Alexander McNutt, had desired it to do so, stating that he was acting for a large body who were thoroughly disaffected towards the British government. Such were the constant appeals to the Continental Congress and to the Massachusetts Court to take some action.

With the backing of this known sympathy and willingness to cooperate, John Allan laid definite plans before the Massachusetts Court for the attacking and capture of Nova Scotia. He asked for three thousand men with provisions, ammunitions, cannon, and eight armed schooners and sloops for the expedition.

Fifteen hundred men were to proceed up the Basin of Minas, of these five hudred to go to the head of Cobequide Bay to take the road from there to Halifax; seven hundred fifty to the landing at Winsor, or up the St. Croix River; one hundred fifty of this number to in-

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1. B. Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia, p. 550.

vest Fort Edward at Windsor, the others to go to Halifax, joined by the Cobequide party about fourteen miles from Halifax. Two thousand were to land near Cornwallis, to march through the settlement to secure the disaffected and to join those at Windsor, and finally to aid those who had gone to Halifax or to help the reatreat. Such an arragement of land forces would cut off all avenues of approach to Halifax. It would be advisable to leave two or three armed vessels in Halifax Harbor to cause confusion that would add to the ease of taking the town.

If for any reason capture seemed out of the question the town and navy yard could be destroyed. The yard was not fortified on the sea side so that men landing from boats at night could accomplish their object without any great danger as the men of war could not open fire without endangering their own men. Should the Council deem neither advisable, by cutting Halifax off from supplies the town could be brought to terms he felt almost sure. From Halifax to retreat to Fort Cumberland was easy, supposing it to have been taken in the meartime. Perhaps Fort Cumberland could be surprised. This could be done by sending armed vessels up to Cumberland where they would be out of range of the Fort, and at the same time secure from larger vessels. The garrison would have to yield as there could be no means of escape by water or of aid by land or water.

John Allan was convinced that if such a plan

were followed the whole province would fall to the United States. He was even more convinced of the success of this plan as it was reckoned without the aid and even with the resistance of the inhabitants. He felt that they could be depended on to join the invaders which would mean that only sixteen hundred men would be sufficient to accomplish his purpose.

The plans for attack were to be supported by magazines and stores on St. John's River, where some men were to be stationed in order that communication with New England might not be cut off by the enemy. Success seemed to him undoubted as England could not pursue the war to the south and at the same time defend Nova Scotia. His proposal embraced King County, in the Basin of Minas, Cobequide settlements and Cumberland County, as he planned to take nothing east of Halifax. If no direct action on a large scale was to be taken against Nova Scotia, at least Fort Cumberland must be taken. The Fort was indispensable to the success of the whole American cause, as it was strategically situated to command the seacoast, the Indian trade and the fisheries, as well as being easy to defend so as to secure the whole frontier. The taking of Fort Cumberland was an absolute necessity as he saw it, for with it as a base the whole province could be harassed and subdued. It was the only way of critically injuring the British navy for it was from here that masts, lumber and other naval supplies reached the British fleet,

and it was to here that the fleet came in order to repair and prepare for another attack.

His viewpoint was broad enough to allow him to comprehend that such action might be considered impossible or unpracticable. In that event, all he asked was that the inhabitants be assisted to remove, and the question of conquest left to a future time.[1]

The proposals for an attack on Nova Scotia were agreed to, for all were aware that action in Eastern Maine by the Americans was immediately necessary, to prevent an English invasion, to secure the Indians of Nova Scotia and the St. John's River to the American cause, and to protect the frontier. Several times the Massachusetts body took action to put into execution a plan to subdue Nova Scotia along the lines laid down by Allan and in accord with the instructions of the Continental Congress. Repeated resolutions and reports in the papers of the Massachusetts Council, indicate that while such an expedition was authorized, for some reason it never materialized. It may have been for lack of funds, that in the early years it remained merely an expedition on paper. In March of 1777 a committee of the legislature reported favorably on John Allan's memorial of the previous month for two fortresses to be erected on the St. John's River, one near

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1. Some Proposals for an Attack on Nova Scotia. Coll. N. S. Hist. Soc. II, pp. 4-17.

where Fort Frederick formerly stood and the other against the falls on the west side of the River St. John, and for "a sufficient force be sent into Nova Scotia to secure the inhabitants in the possession of their estates, and to act as occasion may require, and two battalions to be raised in this state, and one in the province of Nova Scotia."[1] Kidder is of the opinion that the intention was for six hundred men to join three hundred raised in the invaded province. But scarcely one hundred were sent, and the whole expedition seems to have been shrouded in secrecy.

Late in April of this same year the Continental Congress changed its previous instructions in regard to the eastern settlements. Massachusetts was still to execute any practicable measures against the enemy or toward removing the people from there, but the expenses were to be charged to Continental Establishment. It would seem that there could be no reason for further delay unless men were lacking. The Continental Congress had stipulated that if fifteen complete battalions were enlisted in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, then three of these could be used for the protection of friends of the cause in Nova Scotia or for offensive action there. This provision must have had a paralyzing effect on the whole plan for

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 184-185. St. John's Indians to the Massachusetts Council.

no action resulted.

It was June before Massachusetts again turned to the project, though the British had gained a marked degree of control of the St. John River in May which could have meant a fatal blow to all the Continental interests in that section. Allan's continued reiterations on the subject as well as petitions and communications from others in that part of the state roused the Council to the extent that on June 6 and 7, 1777, a regiment was ordered to be raised in Lincoln and Cumberland counties "to care for the inhabitants of the Eastern parts, for their relief and protection from the usurpation and tyranny of Britain."[1] An expedition was to be made to the River St. John with Major Little[2] as Brigadier General aided by Samuel Cobb, Francis Shaw and James Minot as Field Officers.[3] Even such concrete developments as these amounted to nothing seemingly, for late in June the records once more disclose resolutions to the effect that an expedition to the St. John River was imperative as a stand must be made somewhere, and the river was the best point for that, as it would cut off British communication with Canada, as well as secure the country and the Indians

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1. Massachusetts Archives, CCXIV, pp. 113-114.

2. Ibid, p. 132.

3. Ibid, p. 143.

to the United Colonies. Altogether it would promote the interest of the whole United States and be to her advantage.[1] For this purpose the Council once more ordered one regiment to be raised in Massachusetts, another in Nova Scotia, and the whole expedition to be pushed on immediately.[2] Discouraged by the continual delay, yet not hopeless of evertual action John Allan had proceeded to his post at Machias.

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1. Massachusetts Archives, CXCVII, p. 204. Letter to Meshech Weare, June 26, 1777.

2. Ibid, p. 187. Letter to John Allan from the Mass. Council, June 20, 1777.

Chapter V

MISSION TO THE INDIANS, 1777

John Allan took up his appointment at Machias as Superintendent of the Eastern Indians, in the pay of the Continental Establishment, on March, 1777. The new Superintendent was anxious to go to the Indians on the St. John River in order to promote the interest of the United States among them. The presence of the Vulture, a British ship of war, stationed at Halifax after Eddy's defeat prevented Allan from setting out until May 29, 1777. He went through Passamaquoddy to where the Indians were gathered, which was probably Pleasant Point. Captain West, Mr. Colby and Lieutenant Scott set off in three boats for Musquash Cove. The next day, the rest of the party in one boat and three birch canoes overtook them so that they all arrived at the Cove together. From here Allan set off with two boats for Aukpaque which he reached in less than a week.

While he had pressed on to his conference with the Indians Captain West, Lieutenant Scott and twelve men landed at Fort Frederick where they took Hazen and White prisoners. These two men loyal to the British had caused much annoyance to Allan and were partly responsible for the presence of the man-of-war at Halifax. They also took Lewis Mitchell, a zealot for Britain, prisoner too, from

whom they hoped to get intelligence of British plans, but he escaped and was the means of bringing a British force into the vicinity to attack Allan and his party.[1]

When Allan arrived at Aukpaque, Pierre Toma, chief of the St. John Indians, sent for him to come to his wigwam. Here he was treated with every mark of respect and was fully initiated into the Maracheete or St. John tribe, as a token of their esteem and friendship for him which had been heightened by his appointment as agent to them through General Washington. Ambroise St. Aubin as leader of the tribe gave an account of the embassy which had been to Boston. It was agreed that the young men of the tribe were to be at command so long as action did not go counter to tribal rules, but there was no formal treaty;

An express informed Allan of the appearance of a British ship at the mouth of the river. He was naturally alarmed as the people along the river were divided in their attachments as those who favored the American cause had let those who were disaffected go about among people who readily yielded. This foreshadowed a British victory unless aid came immediately to those who were still favorable to the colonies and desirous of assisting them. Once more Allan pleaded

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus. Allan's diary, pp. 93-94.

with the Massachusetts Council to send men and munitions to keep the British from gaining a hold which would give communication directly to Canada, thus strengthening their position. The people had not defended the mouth of the river as they should have done, a predicament that was further complicated by the instability of the adherence of the Indians. Pierre Toma was very anxious to join the British. It took all of Allan's genius in handling these Indians to keep them from being swayed by this leader. In fact, he decided to stay among them in an endeavor to counteract the blandishments of Mr. Franklin, the British agent. It was a stupendous effort for this agent had at his command the gold and supplies of England. Pierre Toma and a few others had conferred with Franklin but had made no agreements and as yet the remainder of the tribe was loyal to the Americans. Ambroise and his followers were worthy of great praise in maintaining this loyalty through their attachment for Allan and their great respect for George Washington.

The English authorities knew that with Allan disposed of[1] they would have little cause to worry in that

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1. More than once they incited the Indians to take his life. Once Allan was sitting in a room with his two sons when a friendly Indian came in and went behind the door. Soon after another Indian came in, and going directly to Colonel Allan made an attempt to slay him. Just then the

section of the eastern country, so a price of four hundred dollars was offered for his delivery, dead or alive. They knew that alone he could do much, but that if he secured the aid he was praying Massachusetts to grant him, there was no chance of British success on the St. John River, particularly as he retained the friendship of the Indians in spite of all they could offer.

So far he had accomplished his purpose in making the Indians feel they were indispensable to the American cause. He placed the price to be paid for furs high so that the Indians would request large sums from the British, who in refusing to pay it, would stir up discontent and hostility toward themselves. The Americans would avoid this because Allan intended to have the furs paid for in supplies. However, it did not seem advisable to

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friendly Indian stepped from his hiding place and felled Allan's assailant.

At another time a plan was made to entrap him. The captain of an English merchant vessel invited him to dinner. Allan was anxious to go, but Captain Dyer feared treachery and begged to go instead. No sooner was Dyer on board than theocaptain exclaimed, "Now, thank God, I've got you, you d----d rebel!" "No, you haven't got him," said the brave Dyer, "You've only got me." He was kept prisoner and taken to Halifax where he died some time afterwards in prison. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 18.

him to have these supplies sent to the River St. John, as he feared their capture by the British, but to have them go to Machias where he decided to bring the Indians if he could persuade them to follow him. He made a treaty and agreement with the Indians from Nurtaweshcaugh, but the other villages were still undecided as to taking any active part.

During Colonel Allan's negotiations he received word that the British vessels the Vulture, the Milford frigate and the Gage sloop were at the river's mouth. Joined by Dr. Clark and Lieutenant Delesdernier, Captains Houlton, Sharp and Maxwell with a few Indians started for the mouth of the river. The whole party arrived in the Grand Reach where early the next morning the guard sighted the enemy. A body of thirty lay in ambush on the road that led to the Falls in order to surprise the enemy when they should land. Instead they were surprised by them, for just as the group of colonials were ready to strike they found themselves surrounded so that being outnumbered they had to retreat. As they fled up the river, they met John Allan coming down, and he joined them in withdrawing up the river all night.

In the meantime a skirmish had taken place at the mouth of the river. The English learned that the rebels at Machias intended to descend on Nova Scotia near the St. John's River, so the Mermaid under Captain Hawkes with the Vulture and the Hope were ordered to the St. John River. When they arrived they found the

town in the hands of the invaders, so they immediately landed one hundred twenty men at Mahogany Bay. The company under Dyer and West felt it advisable to secure a retreat to Great Bay above the Falls to which the majority of the band went, while Captain Dyer and twelve men covered the enemy. When the enemy was within musket shot Dyer's men let them have a volley of shot and retreated. For the time the English retreated to their ships, only long enough though to be reinforced in order to pursue the retreating rebels. Word of their progress was brought to Allan by Doctor Nevers, whereupon Colonel Allan summoned the Indians in order to adopt a plan of action. It was decided that the Indians should meet the oncoming enemy, while Allan should go to look after the Indians' families. The Cumberlanders removed to avoid the vengeance of the troops, for they had learned by bitter experience after Eddy's defeat, what the reward was for openly expressed loyalty to the American cause. It had been Allan's policy during his stay to have absolutely no contact with the people of the district so that they should not be involved through him. He would not even accept the loan of a house to be his headquarters while he treated with the Indians. This would not be considered to have been the case by the British troops so the people felt it advisable to retire for the time being out of the path of the advance.

The enemy pursued the retreating forces as they

receded up the river and beyond the Falls. Colonel Allan sent Dyer and West with their troops into the Oramoucto then by way of the Magaguadavic River to Passamaquoddy and Machias. Another detachment had taken up the pursuit of Allan and his party. The Americans had the advantage, for by their knowledge of the country they succeeded in eluding capture. The expedition failed because timely aid of provisions and material assistance had not been supplied. On the whole "it threw a damper on their schemes of invading Nova Scotia."[1]

It had been decided that as the armed forces retreated, the Indians and such of the people as desired it should leave Cumberland for Machias. Ambroise St. Aubin, his son, and Pierre Benoit, always loyal to Colonel Allan and the American cause, were to pilot the emigrants through the wilderness. The journey was long, difficult and slow. The Indians naturally traveled slowly as they carried as much of their belongings as they could, and brought along also the sick, the aged, and the children. Five miles were a day's journey. On July 3 the group left the St. John River just below old Fort Meductic, crossing a five mile portage to a bend in Eel River. Then they proceeded upstream to the first Eel Lake, passing the Metagmuckschesh carrying place and pond to North Pond,

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 200.

and crossing this to the north end of the upper Cheputneticook Lake. A whole week was spent on these two lakes which are forty-five miles long. A dangerous passage was accomplished down the eastern branch of the St. Croix and with great difficulty they reached the junction of the west branch of the St. Croix or the Schoodic River. It was an upstream struggle from there to Louey's Island, where they entered some ponds and passed through them to the lower Schoodic or Genasorganawgum Lake which Allan called Passamaquoddy Lake. After two days encampment there they crossed the lake going up through a long cove from which they made a short portage to the upper part of the Machias River, so that on August 1 they encamped about twenty miles from the town of Machias.[1]

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 80-81. Allan's diary, pp. 116-124.

Chapter VI

THE ATTACK ON MACHIAS, AUGUST, 1777

The British were naturally alarmed at such a complete removal of the Indians from the St. John River to Machias. Though they may not have been of material aid to the British, hitherto at least they had not been actively engaged on the side of the Americans. They felt that Allan was the object of their vengeance, as it was he who was responsible for the Indians' action. Plans were put in order to destroy Machias before a descent could be made on Nova Scotia from there under his command. This even though on August 8, 1777, an order was issued by the Massachusetts Council that the men raised for the St. John Expedition be disbanded and the provisions, arms and stores be returned. Though the expedition against Nova Scotia had not materialized, it precipitated the attack on Machias by the English. The people at Machias were fully aware that the intention of the British was to destroy the town completely, thus putting an end to all possibility of invasion into Nova Scotia from the eastern part of the continent.

It was known at Halifax that John Allan had been delegated by the Massachusetts Council to encourage the people of Machias, engage them in the service, establish magazines of provisions, amunition and clothing there, and that he had been ordered to secure the friendship of the

Indians and had been so far successful as to have obtained a promise from their chiefs that they would join in an attack on Nova Scotia. Besides, it was rumored "he raised a large number of men whom he assiduously trained to exercise, and by the large supplies from Boston some considerable magazines were established and grew fast to completion."[1] The Governor and Council at Halifax in alarm presented the case to General Massey who refused to act, saying he was stationed there to protect and defend Halifax against any attack. Sir George Collier who was in command of the British fleet there instantly determined to gather all the men-of-war he could and to sail into the rebel country to destroy their magazines so as to prevent any invasion into Nova Scotia. Collier went in the Rainbow, accompanied by the Blonde, Mermaid and Hope. The latter was to get intelligence of affairs at Machias and then join the others at the Cranberry Islands.

The fleet came into Machias Harbor August 13, about five o'clock, the Rainbow proceeding as far as she could, the others, being smaller, going up farther. The Hope continued till stopped by a boom across the river at the Rim, defended by a small fort under command

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1. A Detail of Some Particular Services, pp. 24-25.

of Colonel Foster and a small force who were joined by Stillman and Smith so that the whole force consisted of about thirty-five men. The British tried to land from the Hope but had to retire in face of the constant fire. Captain Smith brought up a cannon and a swivel in order to secure the boom. The enemy was reinforced on the next day which caused the American forces to retreat to the Falls as with their scarcity of numbers they could not hope to guard the several places at which the enemy might attempt to land. A redoubt with twenty men under command of Major Stillman was raised near where it was thought the enemy might land. A breastwork was raised near the saw mills and put in charge of Lieutenant Colonel Nevers as a last retreat.

The brig Hope appeared in sight once more accompanied by an armed sloop. An immediate attack was expected. Stillman and Nevers served as aids to Captain Smith and a body of Indians who were on a point of land near the brig, supported by thirty more Indians a short distance away. The whole defending force numbered about one hundred and eighty men. Under cover of the fog marines landed from the Hope, took the redoubt and set fire to some barns and several buildings near by.[1] The outcry of

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1. According to the British account as published in "A Detail of Some Particular Services" compiled from a journal kept on board the Rainbow, a force from the Hope when they had taken the redoubt, after the occupants had

the Indians evidently alarmed the English forces who probably imagined they were greatly outnumbered for they retreated down the river without taking any further action.

A detachment of thirty men under Major Stillman went down the river on land, until they came up with the vessel. They attacked, causing great loss of life in the enemy ranks but suffering little themselves. The Hope grounded, Stillman retired to the main body of the force up the river. The next morning Captain Smith with a few white men and all the Indians attacked the grounded vessel which got off with difficulty only to ground again. Some additional militia joined the Allan forces so that they were able to prevent aid coming to the Hope from the ships below by scattering their force the length of the river. An almost constant fire was kept up by both sides nearly all day. A heavy rain, however, prevented the American forces from stopping the brig getting down the

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retreated then destroyed the magazine of salt, clothing, provisions and ammunition, possibly the buildings mentioned in the American accounts. It continues that the marines re-embarked on the brig Hope and went up into the center of the town with the intention of destroying some sawmills but the rebel forces increased and were augmented by Indians so that the risk seemed too great. (The destruction was probably exaggerated as the supplies had not arrived from Boston, as is evidenced in that later letters of Allan stated that supplies were lacking at the time of the attack. Moreover, if they had been received the place of storage would have been several miles from any danger of harm by the Hope.)

river and the Hope on the morning of the sixteenth joined the other ships at Round Island, after which all but one of the fleet left the harbor. Colonel Allan had been present throughout the whole attack, without taking any active part, while Eddy was in command of the military forces under a commission from the Massachusetts Council.[1]

The Indians rendered invaluable service during the attack. They were loyal and courageous soldiers doing far more than their share especially, as Allan observed, he had not been able to supply them with the things they needed at a time when the English were making them every offer to induce them to leave the American service. The English held the attack on Machias to be their victory. Actually it was not, for they did not retain the invaded territory with their forces, but withdrew to Halifax. They also prided themselves that the August descent on Machias put a complete end to all attempts to invade Nova Scotia from there. Sir George Collier warned the inhabitants of Machias, Pleasant River, Narragaugus and Gouldsborough, addressing them as the King's subjects, that any further attempts on Nova Scotia would mean their towns would be reduced to ashes. The British account states that the effect of the

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, Allan's diary, pp. 127-129.

declaration was that the people of Machias and the eastern district were ever after perfectly peaceable and never attempted to commit any act of hostility against Nova Scotia while Sir George commanded there."[1] It is true there never was another attack on Nova Scotia by the Colonists but it was not through fear of what would happen if they tried it. They did several times resume the plan of an expedition against the St. John River, but were prevented by the lack of money, munitions and most of all, men.

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1. A Detail of Some Particular Services, pp. 50-51.

Chapter VII

JOHN ALLAN, INDIAN AGENT

From 1777 until the end of the war Colonel Allan was engaged for the most part in dealing with the Indians. There was no further actual warfare but there were frequent rumors and alarms of attack. It was not due to neglect that no material action was taken in the eastern section of the country. The Massachusetts Council realized the importance of guarding the eastern frontier but they could not furnish supplies or men. It was Colonel Allan's task to keep the people encouraged and loyal, and to secure the Indians in face of the English seduction.

He had a very difficult problem to meet shortly after the contest at Machias. Less than two weeks after the battle there, orders came from the General Court of Massachusetts, ordering that all soldiers be disbanded. General Washington felt the plan to attack Nova Scotia was not feasible at that time. There were specific orders for all but Major Stillman's troops, who, though he felt that it was through an oversight that orders for his soldiers had been omitted, determined to continue them until he did receive orders as the situation demanded it in his opinion. Many of the people were disheartened by this official action, but they agreed to pay and find all who were willing to stay and defend

the place in addition to Stillman's troops.

John Allan realized that the Indians would feel that they had been deserted immediately after they had aided in defending the district. He prevented resentment against the American cause on the part of the Indians by a resort to strategy. He explained that General Washington had abandoned the expedition partly because he did not wish to expose them to the horrors of war. He also forged a letter from the Honorable Board of Massachusetts praising the conduct of the Indians.

Colonel Allan did not question the decision of the Continental government to abandon the Nova Scotia expedition, but he felt something should be done in the way of defending the eastern parts for there was nothing to hinder the enemy from complete success there. With only a few soldiers and the Indians to depend on he feared for "this Place, the frontier of the State, the Last Retreat whereby we can have any command over the Eastern Indians, & the Key of the Eastern Country Besides the Value of the Place itself, it contains a considerable amount of Private Property, as well as a Great amount belonging to the States"[1] If the Honorable Board considered it worthwhile to secure the post at Machias, four hundred men and such Indians as would enlist would accomplish the object.

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 217. Letter of John Allan to the Massachusetts Council.

State of Massachusetts Bay

In Council Chamber Sept. 17. 1777

Whereas Colonel John Allan is appointed to the Chief Command of the Eastern Indians that now are or that may soon be taken into the Service and pay of this State. And it appearing to this Court that it will greatly promote the Service of the United American States; to have the same person Commander of the Troops ordered to be raised by the Resolve of yesterday and Stationed at Machias, that is appointed over the Indians Therefore

Resolved that John Allan, Esq. be and he hereby is appointed Colonel of the Troops Ordered to be raised and Stationed at Machias by the Resolve of yesterday And the

is also hereby directed and Impowered to receive all the Stores directed to be delivered to Lieut. Colonel Phineas Nevers by the aforesd Resolves and the Board of War are hereby directed to govern themselves accordingly. And the Council are desired to Commissionate the said Allan accordingly to this Resolve

Sent down for Concurrence

Jno. Avery D. Secy

In the House of Representatives Sept 17. 1777

Read & Concurd

Warren Speaker

Consented to —

Jer. Powell
Benj. Austin
W. Greene
A. Ward
J. Cushing
D. Hopkins
Palmer
John Taylor
Mowgill
N. Cushing
H. Otis
Oliver Prescott
H. Gardner
Jno. Danielson
O. Fuller

Colonel Allan wished to go to the Micmacs in order to confer with them, but there was word of a proposed attack by the British which would mean one hundred families destroyed or captured and one hundred miles of seacoast fallen to the enemy unless aid was sent from Massachusetts or some stand made. Major Stillman considered that as Machias was "a valuable frontier town, a proper retreat for the Indians, and a barrier to all our eastern country, its importance to the State rises in our esteem a greater Excitement for Defending it."[1] He urged the Massachusetts Council to send aid. Early in September of 1777 it was definitely learned that four hundred men were to join the Rainbow to make a second attempt on Machias (and they had considered the first attack an English victory!). An endeavor was made to assemble the men of the district. Allan summoned the Indians to conference. To meet this situation Colonel Allan was appointed on September 18, 1777, by the Massachusetts Council, to take charge of the Indians in the Eastern Department and to command the troops that were to be stationed at Machias.[2] He honestly felt as he had when appointed by the Congress that he did not possess the ability to carry the position, but accepted out of duty and gratitude for the honor paid him. About three hundred fifty men were

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 222.

2. Massachusetts Archives, CCXV, p. 271.

in active service under him, breastworks and batteries had been erected, and the people seemed determined to fight to the last. The troops, for the most part, were undisciplined, which surely was not conducive to success. To cause even greater alarm came the news that a British regiment had left Boston for the eastern settlements. Then Captain Coombs from Halifax brought the news that the expedition had been abandoned and Eddy had the report confirmed by a sloop from Cobequide, Nova Scotia, so that when the colonists were in position to meet an attack they were not called upon to do so.

This time at his plea, arms and munitions had come from Massachusetts. Now Allan felt that a small body of men was necessary to protect the cannon, for in the event of a retreat from an open breastwork or battery they would lose them. It was decided to erect a fort and enlist some artillery to protect the valuable stores. The site decided upon, on October 18, 1777, was one that commanded both rivers above the former battery at Andrews' Hill. The fort was to be under the command of Major Stillman. The fort called the "Nonesuch" was completed by the end of December, but, in the meantime the militia had been disbanded and only the artillery of about twenty men, to care for the arms, and a small number of Indians remained under orders. This was the general military situation through the remainder of the war. There were

fairly frequent threats of attack and Colonel Allan was often forced to appeal to Massachusetts for men and supplies. On the whole it was deemed advisable by the Continental Congress to let the issue rest until the event of a war between Great Britain and France, or a concurrence of circumstances would render success probable to an expedition against Nova Scotia.

The St. John and Micmac Indians were overjoyed at John Allan's appointment as agent to them. He also became truckmaster of the truck house at Machias, a depot of supplies for the Indians which had been established in 1775. Colonel Allan kept an account with the head of each Indian family so that supplies advanced during the year were paid for in the spring with skins and furs. In this way he kept the Indians under his immediate control and within a few days' reach of his runners, as they never went very far from a possible source of supplies.

He encountered constant difficulty in procuring supplies from Massachusetts as they either were not sent or were delayed or captured in transit. He frequently had to use all his tact and knowledge of the Indian character to keep them from turning against him when his promises of provisions and aid had failed again and again. The Indians could never be entirely depended on, for there was a tendency on the part of some to favor first one side and then the other. Then, too, there were Pierre Toma and Louis Neptune, known to favor the British cause just as

steadfastly as Ambroise St. Aubin and Pierre Benoit adhered to the American cause. Driven by great want it surely was not surprising that the Indians could be influenced to accept the proffered aid of the British. Both sides were striving to secure the Indian interest and the British were better able to offere every inducement.[1] Yet John Allan seems to have had something that discounted English gold and gifts. This was true, too, among the Penobscots who came to be more directly under English influence. He had refused them in his commission as he felt they were so far inland that the General Court could deal with them directly. He learned that having suffered much and having received very little consideration from the government at Boston they were in great danger of going over to the enemy. To prevent this he added them to his care, putting them on the same footing as the other tribes with whom he dealt. He knew the loss of them to the English would influence the Micmacs and St. Johns, as well as be very disadvantageous to any American success in the eastern country because they were located so far inland. The first step he recommended was that a truck house be erected on the Penobscot River, to keep them from going to Canada for supplies. Through the remaining years of the Revolution the Penobscot tribe would treat with no

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 279-282. Letter of Allan to Massachusetts Council.

one but Colonel Allan, even as the Micmac and St. John's Indians.

Whenever he was with any of the tribes they professed great zeal for the American cause but he thought possibly they were just as enthusiastic when among the British. More than once he ordered them all from their hunting and from the outlying districts to confer with him at Machias, for if they were in Machias he felt quite sure the British agents would not dare approach them.

Not the least of his difficulties was his trouble with white traders and inn-keepers. He petitioned the Massachusetts Assembly many times during his agency to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. They complied with restrictions which while they helped were at the same time frequently evaded. He also asked that no one be allowed to treat with Indians except the truckmaster, for the Indians sold what they received from him in order to buy the forbidden drinks, and immediately returned to the truck house requesting more. His supplies could not stand the drain while refusal caused discontent. In his position as commander of the Eastern Department he refused to permit anyone from traveling between Passamaquoddy and Machias as it was a means of conveying intelligence to the enemy, and the presence of the disaffected, as many of them were, was a bad influence on

the Indians, for they discounted all of Colonél Allan's work among them.

A severe blow to his relations with the Indians was the capture of Penobscot. An attempt had been made by the Canadian Indians to intimidate the Penobscots, when in April of 1779 three strings of wampum had come to them from Canada: the first, to open their eyes; the second, to make them see a great way; and the third, to cause them to hear and understand the message that they were to have nothing to do with the Americans as the King of England was determined to whip the rebels. They held out the threat of nine thousand Indians in Canada ready to execute any orders from the British General in Canada against the Indians and inhabitants of the eastern settlement.[1] Allan held the loyalty of the Penobscots in spite of these threats. The capture of Penobscot put them at the mercy of the British and cut them off almost completely from communication with their Superintendent. He set up a depot at the head of navigation on the Kennebec in an attempt to keep in touch with them and from there supplied them during the British occupation. The inhabitants in the vicinity of the captured district at Penobscot, Union River, Naskeag, Deer Island, and some at Frenchman's Bay, Goldsborough, had taken the oath of allegiance. This inter-

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F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 263-264. Capt. Preble's Report of Intelligence from the Penobscot River.

fered with Allan's plans, but supported by the people of Mount Desert, Narragaugus, Pleasant River and Machias, augmented by the Micmacs, he determined to do all possible to defend the country and to oppose the enemy at Penobscot.[1]

The enemy successes in the vicinity, however, caused the Indians immediately under his command to be unstable in their attachment to the American interests. The St. John's Indians were persistent in demanding ammunition and supplies. They fully realized what they had given up in leaving their fertile lands on the St. John's River, to follow John Allan to Machias. They desired to be compensated for their loss or that some attempt be made to repossess the land. From time to time during the last months of 1777 and now and then in 1778 and 1779 he was sanguine about pushing into Nova Scotia with success to satisfy their desires. This, though time and again he had been disappointed in trying to accomplish his objective. The Indians were insistent that something be done for them on this score, or at least that they be kept in supplies. Continued failure of supplies to arrive caused much difficulty, and the only way he could retain the aid of the Indians was to keep them in Machias during the winter of 1779, employing them in a variety of tasks, in order to keep them attached to him in the ensuing summer.

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, pp. 265-268. Report on troubles after capture of Penobscot.

His refusal to allow independent traders to deal with the Indians caused enmity against the militia and himself on the part of the traders and somewhat on the part of the Indians. He informed the Massachusetts Council that he could not deal in such matters, that all his time was needed to handle Indian affairs, so much so that he desired to be relieved of his military commission. Then he could remove his stores from the inhabited country and accomplish more valuable work among the Indians.

Three months later in February, 1780, he again asked to be removed from the command of the Eastern Indian Department. He felt he was not able to cope with the situation as he was expected to retain the friendship of the Indians without any material aid. Without supplies he knew that he could accomplish nothing. His failure to provide for them undermined his reputation for good faith and friendship that he had enjoyed among them since his youth. He thought it was likewise detrimental to the public service, but if the government was of the opinion that the department was not of sufficient consequence to merit attention he would not criticize such action, he only asked to be relieved of his command. As he wrote to the Massachusetts Council: "But from fear of not Answering the End of Government and Hurting my own Reputation, I must plead the Indulgence to be Removed or diminished from this Depart-

ment, as soon as the Public Service will anyway Admit."[1] He was not relieved of his command, but continued expending every effort to keep the Indians free of British control, by promising that supplies would soon arrive.

He could not keep them with him in 1780 when the English offered them the goods they desired in large quantities as pay for being allowed to cut lumber in safety in the eastern districts. In July they went to the priest on the St. John's River near the British forces, but they entered into no agreement with them, and would not even promise that they would remain neutral. Their journey to the river seemed to Colonel Allan to be a defeat for he had deterred them from going so near the British camp for three years. Yet they were loyal to him and did not yield to British entreaties to join them, nor did they have any further relations with them.

The confidence and esteem that the majority of the Indians had for John Allan triumphed over English influence for in August of the same year they sent to the Continental Congress a belt of wampum as a token of friendship and alliance with the United States and the King of France. It was "thirteen rows wide, which represents the thirteen United States and the cross at the

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1. Documentary History of Maine, XVIII, pp. 106-107.

end their attachment to the French."[1] It was accepted by the Congress and returned with medals affixed as proof of its acceptance by that body. They remained true to this manifestation of loyalty, though more than once they were in great want because of the failure of the Americans to provide for them. So bad were conditions in the fall of 1780 that Colonel Allan determined to go to the Massachusetts Council in person and rouse them to action. The Indians feared that he might abandon them and refused to permit him to go until he left his two eldest sons as hostages.[2] He was not very successful for he got the usual promises of supplies, but shortly afterwards he complained that he had no instructions as to the conduct or status of his department or the materials to carry it on. With this situation and a constant threat to the Micmacs and St. John's Indians to withdraw from the American side or be attacked by the Indians from Canada it is surprising that Allan could keep them steadfast to his interests.

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 286.

2. John Allan's wife and five children had been permitted to leave Nova Scotia when he threatened to bring the Indians into Halifax in reprisal if they were not released.

The hopes of Allan and the Indians were raised once more to fever-heat, when in February, 1781, the Continental Congress resolved:

> "That the President inform the Governor of Massachusetts that Congress sensible to the importance of supporting the eastern Indian department under the superintendence of Colonel John Allan, approve of the care of the executive of Massachusetts in making from time to time the necessary provisions for the same, and they are requested to continue such supplies and charge the same to the United States, and it is further resolved that the governor and committee of Massachusetts be and hereby are impowered to complete the company of artillery at the post of Machias to be a number not exceeding sixty five, including such officers as they shall judge necessary for the further security and defense thereof, the said company to be under the command of Colonel John Allan and to be raised, cloathed, paid and subsisted as continental soldiers at the expense of the United States."[1]

This was merely another hope raised only to be dashed, for when another British attack threatened in 1782 he had only the Indians to use for defense, stating in a letter to the Massachusetts Council that he could not expect to hold even them unless supplies came at once.

Again he petitioned to be relieved of his military command in order to deal more adequately with Indian affairs. He felt that if he removed to the River Schoodic, sixty miles east of Machias, he would

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1. Journals of the Continental Congress, February 15, 1781.

be able to accomplish more with less supplies as it was better suited to the Indians and would also be the means of retaining that territory by actual occupation which would thwart any British claims to the district.

The value of John Allan to the American cause in his position of agent to the Indians was realized by the Continental Congress. He maintained the status quo, which was a stupendous accomplishment in face of the obstacles he encountered. There seems to have been no special reason why he should have been reappointed agent unless to make it clear that his requests for dismissal had not been accepted and to assure his continuance in a post that probably no other man could fill, in order to settle affairs of peace with the Indians.

> "June 3, 1783
>
> "The United States in Congress assembled to John Allan, Esquire.
>
> "Greetings.
>
> "We reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, fidelity and abilities have reappointed and by these presents do reappoint you to be our Superintendent of Indian affairs in the Eastern Department and do authorize and empower you to take charge of the affairs of the United States relating to the Indians inhabiting the territories within the United States of America to the eastward of the Connecticutt river agreeably to such instructions (given to you on the fifteenth day of January, 1777) as have been or hereafter may be given to you for that purpose. The commission to continue in force until general arraingement of Indian affairs shall be determined upon unless sooner revoked by this or a future Congress."[1]

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1. Journals of the Continental Congress, June 3, 1783

He resigned the next year but he continued in close intimacy with the Indians and was of incalculable value to the new government in establishing peaceable and friendly relationships with them.

The Eastern Indian Department was dissolved in 1785. The condition of the Indians was deplorable, especially so when consideration is given to the part they had played in assisting the Americans. They addressed John Allan to secure redress for them, but he could only answer that he no longer had authority to deal with them. Their threats and the efforts of the English to entice them to New Brunswick for defense and to fight against the Americans when war seemed imminent in 1793 over non-fulfillment of treaties alarmed Allan. It was undoubtedly through his efforts that the legislature of Massachusetts made treaties with the Passamaquoddies of the Micmac tribe, whereby they were secured Pleasant Point, near Eastport, the islands above tide water in the St. Croix and a good township of land on the lower Schoodic Lake (their present reservation). A treaty was made with the Penobscots, also in the last years of the eighteenth century, in which they were given several townships about twelve miles above Bangor and all the islands in the river above Bangor in return for which the Indians resigned claims to lands that were theirs in the more densely settled country.

His agency to the Eastern Indians was on the whole successful. He did retain their friendship though beset by every obstacle and disappointment. It is hard to explain his success except in terms of his own personality and industry, for he really had very little aid. It must not be imagined that he got no supplies, but only that those he received were far from adequate. If the Indians had joined the British, the whole district would have been burned, plundered, and lost to the United States. This would have meant Allan was defeated as his aim was to retain the land to the St. John River if he could not annex Nova Scotia. Surely he must have been a man of outstanding character that he could hold the Indians steadfast.

Chapter VIII

JOHN ALLAN'S LATER LIFE

In September, 1783, John Allan resigned to the Massachusetts Council his position as agent of the Eastern Indians and military command there. The committee reported:

"Boston, September 24, 1783

"To the Honorable House of Representatives.

"The committee appointed by the Honorable Court by their resolve of July 3, 1783 to settle the accounts of John Allan, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Eastern Department and Commander of the Post at Machias, have attended to that service. They have carefully collected and examined all the charges against him in Cash and Supplies received from the late Board of War and the Commissary General and they have also particularly examined all his Accounts and Petitions, for the expenditure of the Same with his Vouchers to support said Charges, and we find he has been particularly attentive to the business committed to his charge. Very regular and correct in keeping his Books and Accounts, right cast and well vouched, and that on a final settlement which we have made with him there remains a balance due him of 1640£ 19 s. Specie for which we have given him a certificate.

"All of which is submitted,

Thomas Walley

Peter Boyer

John Deming

Committee"[1]

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 20.

At the same time he petitioned for dismissal from the Continental Establishment. He did not procure it until June 13, 1785 when he received a certificate for $870 and 45/96 of a dollar as his pay from June, 1783 to May 1, 1784 when he was informed of his discharge.[1] In September, 1785, his accounts were completely settled. He received in full payment the balance due him, $3494.

In the years after the war his official connection with the government was not severed. He had written to the Continental Congress in 1783 concerning what he felt to be encroachments by the English on American territory. He had applied to the Governor of Halifax to order settlers from a piece of country east of a river known as Schoodic on the Great St. Croix. Allan insisted that the Petit St. Croix or the Eastern River in the Bay was the boundary line. Morris, the King's surveyor, declared the Great St. Croix was established as the boundary by Governor Bernard in 1763. Colonel Allan was persistent in his communications to the Continental Congress and the Massachusetts Council that action be taken to prohibit encroachments from Nova Scotia. He was appointed agent to inquire into the actual situation and report thereon. His findings were con-

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1. Journals of the Continental Congress, June 13, 1785.

State of Massachusetts Bay — 35

I John Allan, Do Acknowledge, The United States of America, to be Free Independent, and Sovereign States, and Declare that the People Thereof Owe no Allegiance or Obediance to George the Third King, of Great Britain, And I Renounce Refuse And Abjure Any Allegiance or Obediance to him, And I Do Swear that I will to the Utmost of my Power, Suport, Maintain And Defend the Said United States, Against the Said George the Third, King &c. his Heirs And Successors, And his or Their Abettors, Assistants And Adherents, And will Serve the Said United States in the Offices of Superintendent And Commander in Chief of Indians Eastern Department, Which I now hold, With Fidelity, According to the Best of my Skill And Understanding So help me, God —

Lincoln S.S, Mechias Apr. 15th 1778

This day the Above Mentioned John Allan Esq.r Personaly Appeard & Made Solemn Oath to the foregoing Declaration By him Subscribed —

Before me } Nathl. Campbell Just. pace

J. Allan.

sidered by later commissions on the boundary dispute.

During these same years he began a mercantile business at Allan's Island in Passamaquoddy Bay. He was not a successful merchant for he seems to have been too tender hearted to collect his bills. He turned to agriculture at Lubec Mills in 1786. These later years were not the years of comfort he should have had. He knew poverty, as did most of the Revolutionary Officers while he awaited his settlements for his services. June 2, 1784, he petitioned the Senate and House of Representatives in behalf of himself and others

> "That your Memorialist in the month of October, 1776 was obliged in Consequence of the Contest between the United States and Britain to retire from Nova Scotia, Leaving His family and a Valuable property, the former after much difficulty and Experience removed into this Country and a great part of the latter was destroyed by the Britains.
>
> "That in the month of January following your Memorialist was appointed by the Honorable Congress, Superintendet of Indian Affairs, in the Eastern Department and soon after Commanding Officer of the Troops stationed at Machias. That to the End of the War His whole time was devoted to the said business.
>
> "At the Conclusion of the War your Memorialist made report to His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth and the Honorable Congress, the State of the department and situation of the Eastern Country as it stood disputable respecting the boundary with Britain and altho' not discharged by this Government, viewed himself no further in a Military Capacity. The Honorable Congress was pleased in June last to renew His Commission as Superintendent in Order to make a final Settlement with the Indians during the term of prosecuting the business, Your Memorialist Endeavored all in His Power to prevent the subjects of the British King settling on those

Valuable Lands, situated in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, known to be the Indubitable Right of the Commonwealth. But Peace being now settled it appears His Service is no more Necessary.

"Your Memorialist has not received any Perquisite or Ammolument arising from his Situation and Ranque in the Service, Except Pay and Rations a great part of which is still due, nor would he have given your Honours this Trouble had Nova Scotia as was Expected fell into the United States.

"Your Memorialist at an Early Period, was Averse to the form of the British Government, it was the Principle Reason of Coming into the United States, and to become a Citizen, nor does he ever intend to return under the Jurisdiction of the former. Your Memorialist is without any Personal Property within the United States, Except what is due for His Public Services, Having at the same time a larger family to Provide for.

"Your Memorialist would further beg leave to Solicite in behalf of the Officers and fifteen soldiers who have Continued in the department During the War, as also for eighteen other persons formerly inhabitants of Nova Scotia now in the State, for some land in Consequence of their services and Suffering.

"Therefore Your Memorialist Humbly Prays, that your Honours would be pleased to take this under Consideration and Allow for a Settlement to the Several persons before Mention'd a sufficiency to what in Your Honours Wisdom they may Merit and Deserve.

"And Your Memorialist as in Duty bound will Ever Pray, [1]

John Allan."

Though this petition was withdrawn it gives such a clear statement of Colonel Allan's services, hopes and rewards, it seemed worthwhile to reproduce it at length.

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1. Documentary History of Maine, pp. 351-353.

He and his associates, however, received a grant of 22,000 acres of wild land from Massachusetts, where Whiting, Maine, is now located, but it proved of little value as it was very barren. In 1801 he represented to Congress his losses incurred by joining the American side as $10,000. His old neighbors, men of prominence in Cumberland County, testified as to the amount of his losses and the likelihood of his having risen high in public life in Nova Scotia if he had not adhered to his principles and joined the Americans. He received in compensation two thousand acres in Ohio, said to have been where Columbus now stands. This grant profited him nothing as the distance was prohibitive, and the title seems to have passed from his descendents.

He was a man of positive character with an iron will and unswerving determination, a man of intelligence, culture, and intellectual attainments,[1] possessed of a kindly and gentle disposition. He was ardent and energetic in every task, rigid and exacting as an officer, as also in business affairs involving property other than his own. In every undertaking he won the respect of all who knew him.[2]

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1. J. F. Sprague — "Colonel John Allan," Sprague's Journal of Maine History.

2. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 23.

His difficulties, his zeal, and his aims are particularly well expressed by a contemporary and co-worker, Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, who wrote to the Massachusetts Council in June, 1780:

> "Is any commanding officer in this State, nay I will venture to add on the Continent, So unhappy, So unfortunate, and So dangerously situated as Colonel Allan now is. -- Surrounded by the Enemy on every side. Destruction threatened from all Quarters, from their numbers and power, possessed with every artifice and every means to insinuate -- I say, may it please your Honors when not only the defence of that part of the Country but a valuable Interest the property of the State is depending on the Faith of Savages, opposed to the force of Britain. What can be expected or rather what may not be Expected but the whole must soon fall an Easy prey to our enemies this must be extremely Disagreeable to an officer of spirit who had fled from Tyranny and engaged under the Banner of America. And permit me to aid under the most Difficult circumstances, disadvantages and inconveniences in every Period since he had the honor to be concerned in that Quarter, plentifully proved his attachment to the Liberties of America who has and still retains a very large Majority of the eastern Indians in favor of the American cause."[1]

Surely this is a tribute to a man of sterling worth who performed an heroic task more than adequately well. He died at Lubec Mills February 7, 1805 and was buried on Allan's Islands where a monument was erected in 1860 by his descendents as a belated memorial to a

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1. Massachusetts Archives, CLXXI, p. 71. Letter of Alexander Campbell, agent for Colonel Allan to Council and House of Representatives June 20, 1780.

man whose remarkable work in the Revolution has never been truly evaluated.

SUMMARY

At the beginning of the American Revolution there was some chance of Nova Scotia becoming the fourteenth state of the American Union. There was sentiment in favor of such an alliance, for the people of Nova Scotia were closely linked by social, economic and kinship ties to the people of the American colonies. What is now known as New Brunswick and all of Nova Scotia would have been part of the United States if John Allan had been able to accomplish what he set out to do, but help did not come from Massachusetts or from the Continental Congress. If it had, John Allan would have secured Nova Scotia to the new government, and the Bay of Fundy would have been the boundary line between the United States and the British provinces instead of the St. Croix River as at present.

John Allan, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, January 14, 1747, the eldest son of Scotch Colonists in Nova Scotia, imbued with the spirit of the revolting colonies, gave up position and home to join the colonists. His openly expressed sentiments made it necessary for him to flee Cumberland County, his home, to Machias across the border, a town well suited to receive such an ardent patriot, for off its shores the first naval battle of the Revolution took place, June

12, 1775. Before he fled to Machias Allan went among the Micmac Indians to rouse them to active participation for he was confident of their adherence to the American cause.

Feeling quite sure of the sentiments in the whole eastern country, including Nova Scotia, he went on to Boston to urge that action be taken to make Nova Scotia the fourteenth colony in the confederation. He met with so little sympathetic interest or prospect of aid, partly due to the failure of the Eddy expedition against Cumberland, that he went on to Baltimore to the Continental Congress. This body was favorable to some action being taken in the eastern country, especially desiring that something be done to secure the interest of the Indians. To assist in this project they appointed Allan agent of the Eastern Indians and colonel of the infantry on January 14, 1777. Any plans were to be made and the expenses borne by Massachusetts, altered in a later resolution of the Continental body which provided that the expense should be borne by that body while Massachusetts made the plans and carried them into execution.

He arrived back in Boston February 3, 1777. Here he urged again and again that plans be actually put in force for an expedition against St. John's River. Once more he pointed out the possibilities of

success, stressing the desire of Sunbury County, Nova Scotia, to be one with the colonists, and the action of groups in Cumberland County and elsewhere who only asked sufficient aid to assist them in accomplishing their object of joining the revolting colonies. His was not the dream of a visionary. He had definite plans for this attack and the accomplishment of his object, and knew the numbers and arragement of land forces necessary, the most that he desired and the least that he felt must be accomplished. Several resolutions were passed to bring about such an expedition but always they failed to materialize.

Disappointed but not without hope that in the future his desire would be accomplished, in March John Allan proceeded to his post at Machias as Superintendent of the Eastern Indians. As agent to the Indians Allan had continually to use every strategy to keep the Micmacs, St. Johns, Passamaquoddies and later the Penobscots loyal to the American cause. The English were making every effort to win these same Indians to their interests to use them against the Americans. English gold and supplies were a strong inducement where often Allan had only promises and expectations of meager supplies. Massachusetts did the best she could but the colonies were poor and food-stuffs were not plentiful at any time.

In his capacity as agent Allan went to the In-

dians on the St. John's River in June of 1777 to confer with them. While he was there they assisted him in a skirmish with the English in which the Americans were forced to retreat. This indication of the strong position of the English on this river made Allan feel that the best way to retain the allegiance of the Indians would be to remove them from the possibility of English influence. The Indians consented to remove to Machias with him, which clearly shows the power that John Allan had over them that he could induce them to remove from their homes and fertile holdings on the river to a less advantageous location with prospects of a precarious existence.

As a result of this removal of the Indians, the English feared they were to be used against them, and combined with the rumors of an expedition to the St. John's River by the Americans an attack was precipitated on Machias by the English on August 13, 14, and 15, 1777, only shortly after Allan and the Indians had arrived there. It was a spirited attack by several British men of war under the command of Sir George Collier, whose purpose it was to destroy Machias completely in order to stop all possibility of invasion from that point. It was stoutly met by several small detachments of colonials of the district. The British retreated, and the colonials stood their ground main-

taining their authority over the district which the English had aimed to obliterate. The British held it was their victory, but it was more accurately a draw, and seems to have been slightly in favor of the Americans.

No further actual fighting took place at Machias up to the end of the war. It was not, however, because of fear of British retaliation, as the latter said, because plans were made several times only to be abandoned through lack of supplies and men. There were frequent rumors of another British attack which caused the Massachusetts Council to appoint, on September 17, 1777, John Allan to care for the Eastern Indians and to command the troops at Machias. Arms and supplies came, a fort was begun, when word arrived that the English plans to attack had been set aside -- this when for the first time Machias was in complete readiness to repulse an invasion with every promise of success.

During this time until the end of the war and afterward both officially and unofficially Allan was treating with the Indians. He had known the Indians from childhood and was beloved by them. He flattered them and made them feel they were indispensable to the American cause. It took a great deal of tact and a profound understanding of Indian character to retain them to the American cause. In the face of possible desertion

by them he forged a letter from the Board of War praising them for the part they had played in the defense of Machias. He knew they were not always to be depended on for there were British enthusiasts in the tribes as well as those who favored the Americans. The capture of Penobscot by the English was a severe handicap to his work among them, as it made them waver in their loyalty. He did his best to retain them even in face of such great odds. He asked to be dismissed from his military command in 1780, that he might devote his whole time to the Indians. Later in the same year he asked to be removed from command of the Eastern Indian Department as he did not feel he was able to cope with the situation adequately. He was not allowed to resign, so characteristically he continued to devote every effort to keeping the Indians loyal. Once or twice they conferred with the English, but they never actively joined them against the Americans which is a tribute to Allan's personality in dealing with them. In 1782 he again petitioned to be relieved of his military command in order to remove with the Indians to the River Schoodic away from the white habitation where he felt he could be more successful in satisfying them, but his plea was not heeded by the Council.

In 1782 he was reappointed agent to the Indians by the Continental Congress to negotiate peacetime relations with the Indians he had so adequately managed dur-

ing the years of the struggle. He resigned his commission to Massachusetts and the Continental Congress in September, 1783. After the dissolution of the Indian Department in 1784 when he finally received his discharge, Colonel Allan in an unofficial capacity protected the interests of the Indians and secured them grants of lands from Massachusetts as partial reward for the assistance they had given In this same period he was appointed by the United States as agent to investigate encroachments by the English on what he held was American territory which he and his compatriots had fought for and held to be theirs.

After his service to his adopted country was terminated, he was for a time engaged in mercantile pursuits on Allan's Island, later retiring to Lubec Mills where he died February 7, 1805. He had been awarded grants of land in Maine and Ohio by Massachusetts and the Continental Congress as reward for his service.

His service was magnificent. Except for his efforts the sparsely settled districts east of the Penobscot would have been cleared of every inhabitant. The English planned to accomplish this with the aid of the Eastern Indians, but John Allan's successful agency to them prevented the fulfillment of this object. He performed superbly, under adverse circumstances, a difficult and dangerous task which required skill, executive

ability, keen foresight and sagacity.

Surely his activities show his love for and fidelity to the cause he adhered to in its darkest days at a great loss to himself, motivated by love of liberty and a belief in the rights of man. Of him it might truly be said, as his motto stated, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

He has received little recognition for the great work he performed. If he had been supported with men and supplies the international boundary might have been the Bay of Fundy. Without his determined efforts Machias would have been abandoned and the whole territory lost. What then would have been the boundary between the United States and the English country? Surely it would have been much farther south than the present line of the St. Croix River. It might have been the Kennebec River.

As John Cooper wrote to the Massachusetts Historical Society April 7, 1794, "The exertions of Colonel Allan who had the direction of the friendly Indians and the efforts of inhabitants of Machias, united, preserved to the commonwealth a valuable extent of territory; as the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Brunswick, when hostilities ceased was determined rather by possession than the treaty

of peace or the compass."[1] So the present boundary in the northeast is along a line much farther south than the St. Croix River.

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1. Cooper: "A Topographical Description of Machias." Mass. Hist. Society, first series, p.147.

APPENDIX

Movement of Patriots from Nova Scotia into the United States during the American Revolution.

There was a very definite movement of people from Nova Scotia to within the boundaries of the United States during the seven years of the Revolution and immediately afterwards. The peak of the migration seems, from the documents at hand, to have been in 1778. Under the pressure of unfair treatment because of sympathy for the American cause, and from a desire to participate actively in the struggle on the side of the colonists, many left Nova Scotia and came to Massachusetts. The usual procedure was that the man of the family came first, then petitioned the Council of Massachusetts to allow him to bring his family and effects thither and provide him with such protection during the journey as it could afford. There must have been in addition many who merely came over the border and settled, nor could Massachusetts have been the only destination for other states must have received many of them. We find New York being specifically mentioned in the Journals of Continental Congress as a place of settlement for Canadian and Nova Soctian refugees. It seems fair to assume there was a

movement of refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia comparable to the exodus of the Loyalists from the American colonies.

Benjamin Foster petitioned the Massachusetts Council in October, 1776 to have the truckmaster at Machias provide for those who might come as refugees from across the border, for he said:

> "Whereas, many have deserted from the enemy at Nova Scotia, and come to Machias, and we have reason to think more would come could they obtain provisions at said place to subsist them to those parts."[1]

This same year the people of Barrington and Yarmouth petitioned for aid to live on and permission to return to Massachusetts with families and effects as they were "determined as soon as may be to transport themselves and their families from the province in order to get out of the reach of British tyranny."[2]

There is no actual record of their coming but the aid was granted and doubtless many of them did come when opportunity offered.

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1. P. Force, American Archives, Series 5, vol. 3, col. 443.
2. A.Eaton, Chapters in the History of Nova Scotia, p. 192

1776 Parson Noble and Phineas Nevers left Maugerville -- presumably for the independent colonies.

Hugh Quinton
William McKeene
Hugh Estabrooks
Edward Burpee
John Whitney
Benjamin Booby
Amasa Coy
Edward Price
John Pritchard
John Mitchell
Richard Parsons
Daniel Lovett

All had taken part in the Eddy expedition and had to flee from Cumberland County -- many settling in the barren uplands of Maine.[1]

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1. New Brunnwick Historical Society (1894), Vol. 1, p. 76.

1778 Robert Foster, Parker Clark and Ebenezer Gardner petitioned the Massachusetts Council that a flag of truce be sent to Fort Cumberland to secure the permission that the families of some of the former inhabitants of Cumberland be allowed to remove to the United States. They estimated that there were about one hundred persons who desired to leave,[1] and they urged it because in 1777 the expedition to bring Nova Scotia under the American banner had been laid aside.

Those to be brought out under the flag of truce were:

The Names	Wife	Number of Children
Nathaniel Reynolds	wife	10
William Howe	"	2
Simeon Chester	"	6
Amasa Kellam	"	8
Robert Foster	"	6

1, Massachusetts Archives, vol. 183, pp. 171-174. Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants of County of Cumberland in the Province of Nova Scotia now Residing in this State -- 172, Memorial of Sept. 22, 1777. 173-174, Letter of Robert Foster to Massachusetts Council, Aug. 27, 1777.

The Names	Wife	Number of Children
John Starr	"	3
Anthony Burk	"	5
Jonathan Eddy jun.	"	--
Elijah Ayer	"	6
William Edy	"	2
Daniel Eerls	"	6
Robert Sharp	"	1
Mrs. Hannah Watson	widow	5
Ebenezer Gardner	wife	5
Parker Clark	"	4
Elijah Ayer jun.	"	2
John Akly	"	3
	17	74 --91 (1)
Colonel John Allan	"	3

Colonel Allan was ordered to send a flag of truce to Fort Cumberland if he thought they were friendly and attached to the American cause. He doubtless did so, though again the records are silent. These men were actively engaged in the American cause, many of them being closely associated with Allan in his activity in the eastern settlements.

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1. Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 183, p. 175 in letter of Robert Foster to Massachusetts Council, August 27, 1777.

"A List of the Inhabitants of Cumberland Countie in Nova Scotia Who Left that Place on account of the Enemy and Arrived at St. John's River and afterwards at Machias:

	Former Residence c 1776	1785
Elijah Ayer	Conn.	Conn.
Capt. Obadiah Ayer	"	dead
Capt. Nathaniel Reynolds	Mass.	Mass.
Ebenezer Garnor	"	"
William Maxwell	"	"
Simeon Chester	Conn.	Conn.
Robert Foster	Mass.	Mass.
Capt. Jonathan Eddy	"	"
Capt. Amasa Kellam	R. I.	dead
Capt. Samuel Rogers	" "	Mass.
John Fulton	N. S.	N. S.
John Megown	N. S.	Mass.
James Crayford	-----	-----
Joseph Sharp	Penn.	Penn.
Mathew Sharp	"	dead
Josiah Throop	N. Y.	N. Y.
Zebulon Rowe	Mass.	Mass.
Anthony Burk	"	"
Isbrock Eddy	"	"
Daniel Eairl	N. Y.	N. Y.

	Former Residence c 1776	1785
Mr. Bradford	Mass.	Mass.
Ambrose Cole	"	"
Daniel Thornton	"	"
Christopher Paine	"	dead
Nicholas Thomas	-----	-----
Edward Humpson	N. S.	dead
Lewis Desdernier	" "	Mass.
John Day	Mass.	"
John Eackly	Penn.	"
Elijah Ayer, Junier	Conn.	"
Jonathan Eddy, Ju.	Mass.	"
William Eddy	"	"
Atwood Failes	Conn.	"
Samuel Failes	"	"
John Sibly	N. S.	Conn.
Robert Sharp	Mass.	N. S.
John Stewart	N. S.	" "
William How	Mass.	Mass.
Samuel Creth	N. S.	N. S.
James Deckay	-----	-----
David Jenks	R. I.	Mass.
John William	-----	-----
George Rogers	R. I.	dead
Zebulon Row Juner	N. S.	Mass.

	Former Residence c 1776	1785
Edward Cole	Mass.	Mass.
Fighteen men		18
Capt. Budrow with abought 13 French		13
Arrived at Boston 28 men		28
		59

"Besides a Considerable Number in the woods that would not Surrender themselves as prisoners of war But are Waighting for Relefe from the Staits."[1]

Most of these are supposed to have settled in Maine.

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1. F. W. Kidder, opus citus, p. 76-77.

"A Return of the Refugees of Nova Scotia, who left that Province in the year 1776, with their former and their present places of Residence in the United States or Elsewhere, June, 1785.

Thomas Falkner	Mass.	Mass.
Jonathan Nevers	"	"
Elias Edy	"	"
Samuel Sharp	Penn.	dead
Johas Earle	N. Y.	N. Y.
Jonas Earle (Junior)	" "	" "
Robert Earl	" "	" "
Nathaniel Earle	" "	" "
Cap't John Starr	Conn.	Conn.
Samuel Connor (Connover)	"	dead
John Kellhem	R. I.	"
Lt. James Avery	Conn.	Mass.
John Allan	N. S.	"
David Trefeiul (Terrill)	N. S.	"
Thomas Trumbull	". "	Unknown

"The within are those who left the Province of Nova Scotia in 1776; the remaining part of the sixty-three persons I cannot ascertain, either their

Names or places of Abode.

Jonathan Eddy."[1]

He also gives all the names included on the list quoted from Kidder with the exception of those for whom no residence in 1785 is given.

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1. J. W. Porter, Memoir of Jonathan Eddy, p. 72.

To Stephen Smith Esq.r Chairmain of Committee of Safety and Corrispondance for the District of Michias & Navall Officer –

The Petition of Benajah Phelps an Inhabitant of Nova Scotia

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner, being Long Since dissatisfied with the Government in which he Lived, & being desirous of Spending days in his Native Country, did for that purpose dispose of his Interest some years ago, Since which, no Opportunity has Offered by which he Could Remove his Family, But meeting with a Convenient Opport.y to Michias, has Taken the Liberty to Enter these States with his Property, and intends to Remove his Family, as Soon as Possible Situated as above your Petitioner, begs the Favour of your Protection, and That he may have a Pass to Continue on his Voyage to Boston, with his Effects, and Further your Petitioner begs that he may be Intitled to all Liberties and Priviledges, of a Good & Faithfull Subject of these States, as your Petitioner is Ready & Willing to Take the Oaths to Qualify him for Purposes, when Ever he may be Called upon

And your Petitioner shall as in duty Bound Ever Pray –

Benajah Phelps

Michias 8th Sep.r 1778

State of the Mass.ᵗˢ Bay. In the House of Representatives, Octo. 1778

Upon the Petition of William Greenwood praying for Permission to Return to Nova Scotia &c

Resolved that William Greenwood, &c, and he hereby is permitted to return to Barrington in Nova Scotia, in the Schooner Sally, and to carry with him forty Bushels of Rye and three Casks of Flour for the Support of his distressed Family & Neighbours, he giving Bond to the Naval Officer of the Port of Boston in the Sum of two hundred pounds that he will carry out of this State, such Articles, only as he is permitted by this Resolve — And the Commander of all Armed Vessels belonging to this State, are ordered and the Commanders of all other Armed Vessels belonging to the United States, any of them are requested to suffer the said Greenwood to pass unmolested accordingly

Resolve giving Liberty to William Greenwood to return to Nova Scotia October 9. 1778 *

A list from petitions addressed to the Massachusetts Council for permission to settle in Massachusetts, having removed from Nova Scotia. These specifically state former residence in Massachusetts:

1776			
Richard Volpey	Mass.	Arch.	CLXV p.320
Nathan Utley			
Henry Coggin			
Asa Hammond			
Nehemiah Porter	"	"	CLXV p.318
Ebenezer Porter	"	"	CLXV p.318
David Small	"	"	CCX p.428-429
James Brown			
1777			
Ephraim Dean	"	"	CCXIII p.291
William Laurence	"	"	CLXXXII p.409
Josiah Porter	"	"	CLXVII p.207
Malachy Salter	"	"	CLXXXIII p.136
Ebenezer Thayer	"	"	CXLII p.109
1778			
Stephen Blaney	"	"	CCXVII p.313
William Lambert	"	"	CLXXXIV p.5
Samuel and George Rogers	"	"	CLXXXIV p.81

1778

Joseph Verge	Mass.	Arch.	CLXVIII p.379
Nathan Brown	"	"	CLXIX p.106
Samuel Avery	"	"	CCXIX pp.385-386
Simon Burr	"	"	CLXIX p.320

1779

Samuel Sharp	"	"	CLXXXIV p.385
Benjamin Brown	"	"	CCXXI pp.126-128
Enoch Rust	"	"	CLXX p.22

1780

Abner Parrot	"	"	CLXX p.116
Giles Tidmarsh	"	"	CLXX p.318
Stephen and Elizha Eldridge		"	CLXXXV pp.208-209
Josiah Porter	"	"	CCXXVIII pp.345-346

1781

Jonathan Woodbury	"	"	CCXXXIII pp.257-259

Those who did not specifically state they were former residents of Massachusetts:

1776

John Anderson	Mass.	Arch.	CLXV p.352

1777

James Archibald	Mass.	Arch.	CLXXXV p.145
Joshua Marsh	"	"	CLXVI p.426
Joshua Lamb	"	"	CLXXXIII pp.226-229

1778

Benjamin Cole	"	"	CCXVI pp.303-305
Solomon Rider	"	"	CCXVII p.97
Joseph Pierpont	"	"	CCXVII pp.144-146
Samuel Standly	"	"	CLXXXIV p.81
John English	"	"	CCXVII pp.463-465
John Pitts	"	"	CLXVIII pp.309-310
Hallet Collins	"	"	CCXIX pp.208-210
William Pitts	"	"	CLXIX p.3
Nehemiah Patch	"	"	CLXIX p.105
Benajah Collins	"	"	CLXIX pp.138-139
Adam Johnston	"	"	CLXVIII p.418
John Hppkins	"	"	CLXIX p.150
Edmund Howes	"	"	CCXIX p.393-394
Sarah Andrews	"	"	CLXIX p.243
Bartlett Bradford	"	"	CLXIX p.318
Benajah Phelps	"	"	CCXXIX pp.412-414
John Chipman	"	"	CLXIX p.357
Thomas Greenwood	"	"	CLXIX p.368
Gideon Freeborn	"	"	CLXIX p.1

1779

Daniel Collins	Mass.	Arch.	CLXX p.22

1780

Elisha Eldridge	"	"	CLXX p.107
Alexander Bain	"	"	CLXXXVI p.196
Stephen Hall	"	"	CCXXIX pp.235-236

1781

John Winslow	"	"	CCXXXIII pp.257-259
Rev. Nathaniel Fisher			

This list represents the petitions addressed to the Massachusetts Council asking permission to remove from Nova Scotia and settle in Massachusetts. It is worthy of notice that a large number were former residents of Massachusetts who had resided in Nova Scotia for seven or eight years.

There are several references in the Journals of Continental Congress to provisions made for people who left the English jurisdiction to become American citizens.

April 23, 1783, an order was passed by Congress stating that certain refugees from Canada and Nova

Scotia were entitled to consideration and "that for their virtuous suffering in the cause of liberty be further informed that whenever Congress can consistently make grants they will reward ***** the officers, men and other refugees from Canada."[1]

Three townships of land were reserved for Canadian and Nova Scotia refugees adjacent to Lake Erie for those "who are or may be entitled to grants of land under resolutions of Congress now existing or as may be made."[2]

June 30, 1786, it was resolved "That the commissioners of the treasury take the necessary measures for removing immediately and placing on the lands given by the state of New York such Canadian inhabitants as are now residing in the said state *** the said Canadians who shall be removed as aforesaid with fifteen months' rations commencing the first day of June."[3]

In 1801 Congress granted land to the refugees from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.[4]

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1. Journals of Continental Congress, April 23, 1783.
2. Ibid, May 20, 1785.
3. Ibid, June 30, 1786.
4. J. W. Porter, opus citus, p. 76.

Resolve, June 29, 1775

Land granted to:

Jonathan Eddy	1,500 acres
Ebenezer Gardner	1,000
Zebulon Row	750
William Maxwell	750
Robert Foster	550
Parker Clarke	500
Atwood Fales	450
Elijah Ayer	400
William Eddy	350
Phineas Never	1,000
Nathanial Reynolds	300
Seth Noble	300
Samuel Rogers	300
Thomas Forkner	230
John Day	230
Anthony Burk	150
Bradford Carpenter	150
John Eckley	150
Jonathan Eddy, Jr.	150
William Howe	150
	9,360

(Continued on p.xvii)

New York, 21 April, 1785

To Jonathan Eddy

"Sir: The enclosed is a resolution of Congress. I wish it had been more in your favor, but it is all that can be done for you here at present.

S. Holten."[1]

For this Eddy received four warrants dated May 7, 1802, signed by Thomas Jefferson, President, and James Madison, Secretary of State for 1280 acres of land as his share in the Chillicothe District of Ohio.[2]

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1. J. W. Porter, opus citus, pp.50-51.

2. Ibid, p.50.

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18. Journals of Continental Congress, 1775-1785. Washington D. C., Library of Congress, 1925-1930.

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19. Massachusetts Archives: CXLII, CXLIV, CLXVI, CLXVII, CLXVIII, CLXIX, CLXX, CLXXVI, CLXXXIII, CXCV, CXCVIII, CCXIV, CCXV, CCXVIII, CCXIX, CCXXIII.

CXLIV almost the whole volume, composed almost entirely of Allan's correspondence on conditions in the Eastern Department, his requests for supplies, account of attack on Machias August, 1777.

The other volumes varied in the number of references. All contained letters from various actors in the activities in the eastern settlements. Eddy's letter of the attack on Fort Cumber-

land. Instructions to various men. Resolutions providing aid. Petitions for permission to remove appointments, and resolutions granting such permission. Discharge of Allan.

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20. "Maugerville Settlement," New Brunswick Historical Society Collections (1894), I, pp. 50-56.

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